

THE BLACK PANTHER

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PIG POWER STRUCTURE UPTIGHT

*Revolutionary Students
Confront Pigs
Around the World*



INFORMATION:

Eldridge Cleaver
MINISTER OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The struggle of black people to liberate their communities from community imperialism, and to enact the principle of community control over community institutions, has reached an all time peak. At the very same time, the struggle in the white community; particularly on the campuses, and also in other sectors of society, is also reaching an all time peak. The contradictions between the people who are moving and struggling for change, and the pigs and the power structure, for the purpose of maintaining the present decadent social order, has reached a point of crisis which is unlike any through which we have gone before.

This is a period of condemnation. This is a period when past efforts, past activities, past struggle is yielding fruit and that fruit must be consolidated into a victory or the pigs will rob the people of their

The oppressed people of the entire world can take heart from the actions of two black men, Tommie Smith and John Carlos. They proved that not only are they outstanding athletes, but first and foremost — that they are Black men.

To raise your fist in a Black Power salute may seem to be a small thing. But when you are confronted with the pressure of the entire racist power structure, it takes 'GUTS'. The brothers not only had to defy the pigs such as Avery Brundage, they also had to contend with Toms such as that nigger, Stan Wright, together with their coach and other members of the squad.

The choice was undoubtedly a difficult one. But the members of the Black Panther Party salute them.

We hereby serve notice to all pigs that these two brothers — Tommy Smith and John Carlos — have earned the respect and protection of the Panther. In other words, DON'T EFF WITH THEM! If you do, you must surely face the wrath of the armed Black people.

By J. White

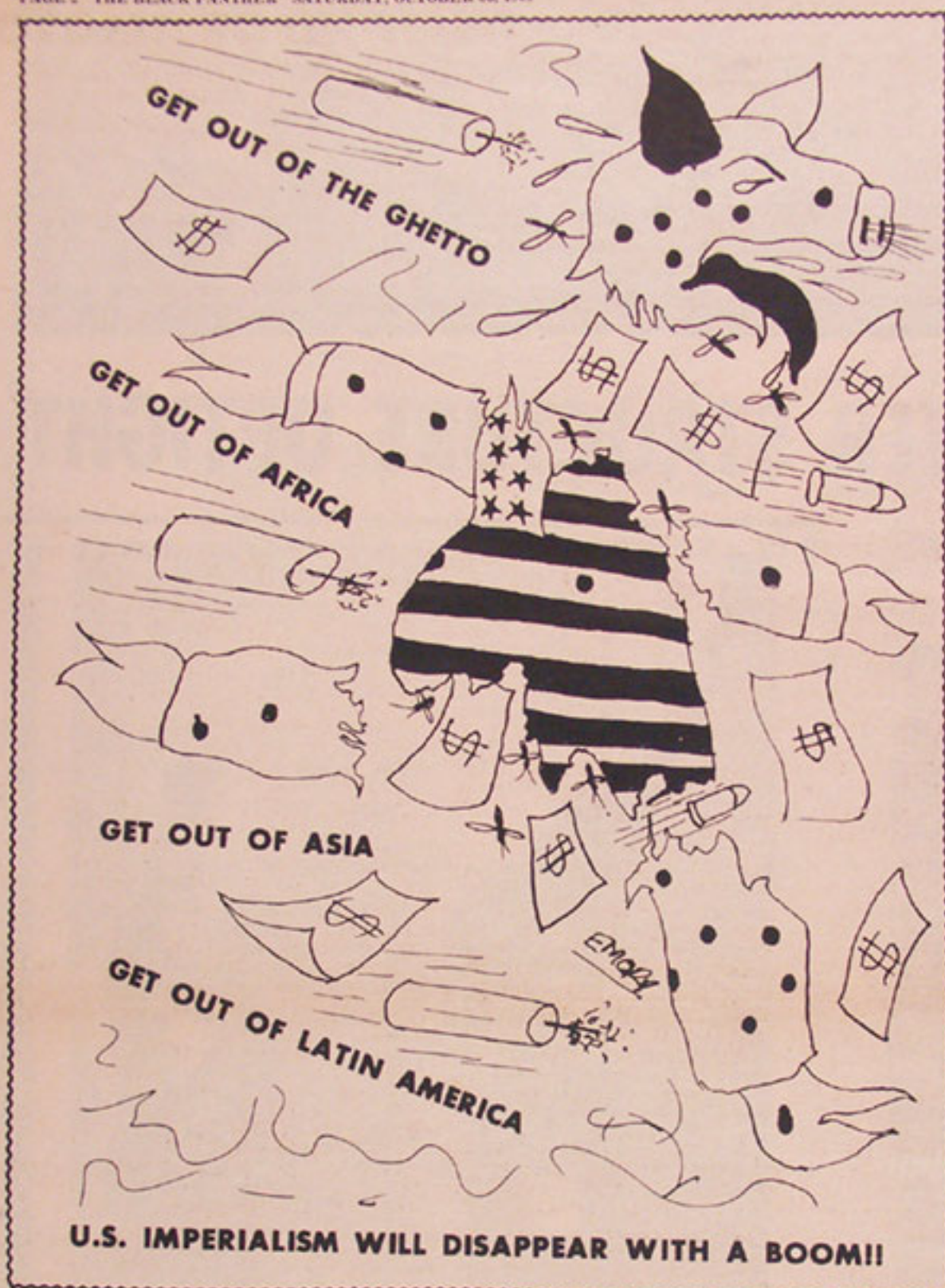
victory and turn the hands of the clock backwards, whereas all of our struggles will end up in an inglorious defeat. This is what the pigs are about, and some of our present tactics are helping the pigs to gain their end.

The basic factor that needs to be understood clearly is that we are dealing with a piggish power structure that has a reputation for never having been turned around. It has never lost a war, it has never lost a battle, it has never lost an argument. The fact is that it has lost many wars, it has lost many battles,

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VISIT...

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U.S. Servicemen Demonstrate Against War

SAN FRANCISCO -- Large numbers of U. S. servicemen demonstrated in San Francisco last week to protest against the U. S. war of aggression in Viet Nam. The demonstration fully reflects the sentiments of more and more U. S. servicemen who are against serving as cannon-fodder for U. S. monopoly capital. Some 7,000 Americans joined the demonstration.

Furious at being driven by the U. S. ruling circles to serve as cannon-fodder in Viet Nam, a number of U. S. servicemen in San Francisco walked out of the barracks in uniform and joined the demonstration in defiance of the reactionary "military discipline" and "military regulations" of the fascist U. S. army.

Carrying aloft placards inscribed with slogans against the U. S. aggression in Viet Nam, they marched from Golden Gate Park to the City Hall Plaza to take part in a rally against the U. S. war of aggression in Viet Nam.

In Washington, large numbers of people also demonstrated, in Park Lafayette across the street from the White House in solidarity with the impressive demonstration held by U. S. servicemen.

Laotian Rightist Troops Wiped Out

LOA (Third-World Press) -- The Laotian patriotic armed forces and people in 115 operations against enemy "nibbling" attacks last week wiped out or disintegrated 533 enemy troops including 284 killed and 114 wounded.

The patriotic forces captured 190 weapons together with large quantities of military supplies, shot down nine aircraft and destroyed a number of military vehicles.

In their valiant counter-attacks against the enemy "nibbling" raids on the liberated areas in Sam Neua province, the patriots in Pa Thi Area put out of action or disintegrated 125 enemy troops, captured 35 weapons and shot down seven aircraft.

Through repeated interceptions, the patriotic armed forces and civilians in Xien Cho area of Xiang Khoang province smashed the enemy attacks, knocking out 141 enemy troops and seizing 30 weapons.

114 enemy troops were wiped out in Luang Prabang province and 38 weapons were captured.

Giving full play to guerrilla warfare, the Laotian patriotic armed forces and people inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.

In Xiang Khoang province, the regional armed forces and guerrillas killed or wounded 72 enemies.

The guerrillas in Vientiane province intercepted enemy troops out on "mopping-up" missions along highways and blew up a bridge on Highway No. 13 which is of vital importance to the enemy.

In co-operation with the main force, the guerrillas in Phong Saly province drove out the bandits who had intruded into the liberated area wiping out more than 20 of them and capturing 21 weapons.

BLACK MARINES DIE NEEDLESSLY

CON THIEN, South Vietnam (Third-World Press) -- Glory-seeking generals are causing an unnecessarily high casualties among Black Marines in Vietnam, according to an article by Zalm Grant in the current issue of New Republic.

Grant reports that the generals are "hanging up on blood-and-guts maneuvers lifted from W.W. II and Korea manuals" while "many young Black men die needlessly. Black Army units are replacing the Marines, the author says.

New Developments in Mexico

MEXICO CITY (Third-World Press) -- The crisis in Mexico has taken on a new dimension as a prominent Mexican political figure has expressed his support for the student struggle. Carlos A. Madrazo, former leader of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PIR) expressed sympathy for protesters who "are being crucified."

A former student leader, So-crates Amado Campos Lemus, now being held in a military camp along with hundreds of other students, blew Madrazo's cover by announcing that Madrazo and four other prominent Mexican political and literary figures were supporting the movement.

Lemus came under fire from some students who labeled him a "traitor" for making the statements to the press. It is believed that a great deal of pressure was placed on Lemus before he made the admissions.

Madrazo, who headed the PIR in 1965 and was removed because of his reformist tendencies, denied that he had played any role of active support, though he made his sympathies clear.

Incidents such as this make it obvious that the situation in Mexico involves much more than student unrest. The possibility of a basic split in the government which could lead to a civil war is certainly not out of the question.

Brazilian Guerrillas Execute U.S. Pig

SAO PAULO, Brazil -- Anti-imperialist urban guerrillas shot and killed a U. S. Army captain who was studying in the university here in preparation for a teaching job at the U. S. Military Academy at West Point.

The dead man, Capt. Charles Rodney Chandler, 30, of Arcadia, Louisiana, was studying Portuguese and Brazilian history at the

University of Sao Paulo under a two-year Olmsted Scholarship. He had served a year in Vietnam.

The guerrillas who executed Chandler used a machine gun and left leaflets calling him a "Vietnam war criminal" and pointing out that his job was to "train war criminals and show them the most advanced techniques of torture and cruelty."

IRAQI PRESS CONDEMNS U.S.

BAGHDAD (Third-World Press) -- The Iraqi news agency published a commentary yesterday condemning U. S. imperialism for its criminal pursuance of the policy of aggression against the Arab people through its readiness to provide Israel, its tool of aggression, with a number of supersonic fighter bombers.

The commentary stressed that "the Arab people who have taken up arms fully realize that under their present situation they cannot regain their rights except by persevering in a protracted armed struggle."

The commentary also denounced U. S. imperialism for repeatedly plotting conspiracies and committing aggression against the freedom and security of the people of various countries and for plundering their wealth. "Every day, a chain of conspiracies by racist Washington against the freedom-and-peace-loving peoples is unearthed," the commentary said.

It pointed out that "the U. S. support of the Zionist gang reveals the existence of an unholy alliance between them." "The U. S. decision to conclude this 'phantom' aircraft deal indicates that the U. S. is definitely encouraging Israel to carry out its policy of aggression and expansion."

"Israel is merely an American military base planted in the heartland of the Arab homeland in order to strike at the growing Arab movement for liberation and to plunder Arab wealth," the commentary. Another Iraqi newspaper "Al Thawrah" in a commentary accused U. S. imperialism of its reactionary dual tactics on the Middle East issue -- peddling the "peace" fraud and at the same time encouraging Israel to make military threats against the Arab people.

In order to step up its aggression against the Arab people the chiefs of U. S. imperialism Lyndon Johnson announced publicly on October 9 that he had authorized U. S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk to hold "negotiations" with the Israeli authorities for providing Israel with a number of U. S. fighter bombers.



Che Guevara on Vietnam

CONTINUATION FROM LAST WEEK

But they are likewise guilty who at the decisive moment vacillated in making Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory -- yes, at risk of a war of global scale, but also compelling the North American imperialists to make a decision.

And they are guilty who keep up a war of insults and tripping each other, begun some time ago by the representatives of the two biggest powers in the socialist camp.

We ask, seeking an honest answer:

Is Vietnam isolated or not, doing a dangerous balancing act between the two disputing powers?

And -- what grandeur has been shown by this people! What stoicism and valor in this people! And what a lesson for the world their struggle holds!

It will be a long time before we know if President Johnson ever seriously thought of initiating some of the popular reforms necessary to soften the sharpness of the class contradictions that are appearing with explosive force and more and more frequently.

What is certain is that the improvements announced under the pompous label of the Great Society have gone down the drain in Vietnam.

The greatest of the imperialist powers feels in its own heart the drain caused by a poor, backward country; and its fabulous economy feels the effect of the war.

Killing is ceasing to be the best business for the monopolies. Defensive arms, and not in sufficient number, is all these marvelous Vietnamese soldiers have, besides love for their country, their society, and a courage beyond compare.

But imperialism is sinking in Vietnam; it sees no way out and it is searching desperately for one that will permit it to emerge with dignity from the dangerous situation in which it finds itself.

But the "four points" of the North and the "Five" of the South have caught it in a pincers, making the confrontation still more decisive.

Everything appears to indicate that peace, this precarious peace which bears that name only because no global conflagration has occurred, is again in danger of being broken by some irreversible and unacceptable step taken by the North Americans.

And for us, the exploited of the world, what should our role be in this?

The peoples of three continents are watching and learning a lesson for themselves in Vietnam.

Inasmuch as the imperialists are utilizing the threat of war to blackmail humanity, the wise reaction is not to fear war. THE GENERAL TACTIC OF THE PEOPLES MUST BE TO ATTACK VIGOROUSLY AND UNINTERRUPTEDLY WHEREVER A CONFRONTATION OCCURS.

But in those places where this miserable peace which we endure has not been broken, what should our task be?

To free ourselves at any price.

The world panorama is one of great complexity. The task of winning freedom still faces countries of old Europe, those sufficiently developed to experience all the contradictions of capitalism while remaining too weak to follow the course of imperialism or to initiate this road. In these countries, the contradictions will become explosive in the next years; but their problems and, hence, their solutions are different from those facing our dependent and economically backward peoples.

The fundamental field of imperialist exploitation covers the three backward continents -- the Americas, Asia and Africa.

Each country has its own characteristics, but the continents, as a whole, also have theirs.

The Americas constitute a more or less homogeneous whole and

almost everywhere North American monopoly capitalism holds absolute primacy.

The puppet, or in the best of cases, weak and timorous, governments are unable to resist the orders of the Yankee master.

The North Americans have reached virtually the pinnacle of their political and economic domination. They can now advance little; any change in the situation could be converted into a decline in their primacy. Their policy is to maintain their conquests. The line of action is reduced at the present time to the use of brute force to block freedom movements no matter what their nature.

The slogan, "We will not permit another Cuba," is designed to cover up treacherous aggressions they can get away with like the one perpetrated against Santo Domingo; or, before that, massacres like the one in Panama, and the clear warning that they are ready to send Yankee troops anywhere in the Americas where a change in the established order endangers their interests.

This policy enjoys almost absolute impunity. The OAS (Organization of American States) is a convenient mask, however discredited it is; the UN is of an inefficacy bordering on the ridiculous or the tragic; the armies of all the countries of the Americas are ready for use in mowing down their own people.

In practice what has been formed is an international of crime and betrayals.

In addition, the indigenous bourgeoisies have lost all capacity to oppose imperialism, if they ever had any -- and constitute only their last trump.

No other alternatives exist; it's either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution.

Asia is a continent with different characteristics. The freedom struggles against a series of European colonial powers resulted in the establishment of more or less progressive governments whose subsequent evolution has in some cases deepened the primary objectives of national liberation and in others reverted toward proimperialist positions.

From the economic point of view, the United States has little to lose and much to gain in Asia. The changes have favored the U.S.; it is struggling to displace other neocolonial powers, to penetrate new spheres of action in the economic field, sometimes directly, sometimes utilizing Japan.

But special political conditions exist there, above all in the peninsula of Indochina, which give Asia characteristics of capital importance and which play an important role in the global military strategy of North American imperialism.

Its blockade of China extends at least from South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and South Vietnam to Thailand.

This dual situation -- such a strategic interest as the military blockade of the People's Republic of China and the ambition of its capitalists to penetrate the big markets which they do not yet dominate -- makes Asia possibly one of the most explosive regions in the world today, despite the apparent stability outside of the Vietnam area.

Belonging geographically to this continent, but with its own contradictions, the Middle East is boiling, and no one can forecast what the cold war will lead to between the progressive countries of this zone and Israel, which is backed by the imperialists. It is one more rumbling volcano in the world today.

Africa appears almost like virgin territory for a neocolonial invasion.

Changes have occurred which, to a certain degree, have compelled the neocolonial powers to give up their former absolute prerogatives. But when the processes continue without interruption to

The people must demand that mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco extend the protection of his office to Eldridge Cleaver in his struggle to stay out of prison. Racist pigs like Ronald Reagan and Max Rafferty are putting pressure on the California Adult Authority to force the Adult Authority to cancel Eldridge Cleaver's parole to get him off the streets. It is mayor Alioto's duty to see to it that no state agency functions in such a manner as to deprive any of the citizens within his jurisdiction of their constitutional rights or his human rights. Yet mayor Alioto is standing by allowing the California Adult Authority to do exactly that. The California Adult Authority is a state agency. Governor Reagan is the official head of all state agencies. As such, he is the official head of the California Adult Authority. He is moving within the Adult Authority precisely in the same manner that he moved within the Board of Regents to launch a politically motivated, hypocritical, demagogic attack upon Social Analysis 139X, the class in which Eldridge Cleaver is participating as a guest lecturer. Mayor Alioto has a responsibility in this matter, and we call upon the people of the City of San Francisco in particular and the rest of the country in general to manifest the demand to mayor Alioto that he do his duty and demand that the California Adult Authority takes its hands off Eldridge Cleaver.

CUBAN RELAY TEAM GIVES MEDALS TO CARMICHAEL AND EDWARDS

The Cuban men's and women's relay team shocked the world this week when they said they would give their second place silver medals to black Americans. Stokely Carmichael and Professor Barry Edwards.

The Cuban team finished second behind the United States in the 400 meter relay.

Edwards, 1 meter-11, the anchor man of the Cuban team said, "We will send our medals to the American blacks because we believe their cause is a just and fair one. We will send them as a contribution to all of them who are struggling for freedom."

Asked if the team was concerned about racial problems in countries other than the United States, he replied, "We are thinking of the movement in the United States only. We are concentrating now on the black people in the United States."

Italian Auto Workers Demonstrate Against Pig Brutalities

ROME -- 3,000 striking Italian auto manufacturing workers demonstrated in Turin yesterday afternoon in protest against police brutalities.

Yesterday morning, seven hundred workers and students who took part in the workers' struggle distributed leaflets to explain the workers' demand. 50m of them were beaten up by the police. The workers and students fought together fiercely with the reactionary police.

To show their protest against police brutalities, they decided to extend their strike for another 24 hours. Last week, the auto workers held a 48-hour strike for wage increases.



Kathleen Cleaver
COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Assemblyman Willie Brown

on the issue of

• Huey P. Newton

• Eldridge Cleaver

• All Black Political Prisoners

• Concentration Camps



KATHLEEN CLEAVER'S PRESS STATEMENT:

SAN FRANCISCO — The following press statement was released Tuesday by Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver, 18th Assembly District Candidate on the Peace and Freedom Ticket, and Communications Secretary of the Black Panther Party. The statement was issued by Mrs. Cleaver in response to recent attacks made upon her and the Black Panther Party by incumbent assemblyman Willie Brown and his cohort, Councilman Terry Francois.

We in the Black Panther Party have not waged political campaigns based on personally attacking our individual opponents in the electoral arena, for we must concentrate on the basic issues confronting black people today — primarily that of survival and self defense in the face of armed aggression against our community. We have been attacked, verbally and physically, passively and violently, by all aspects of the power structure, in particular members of the legislative and military branches.

However, the latest group of attacks against my campaign by the incumbent Willie Brown must be dealt with. This campaign has always been and is now a campaign waged against the major enemies of black people, the Democratic and Republican Parties of RACISM. Willie Brown is not a personal target, but a member of the Democratic Machine. He has too many times stayed silent on the basic problems of black people, but now, with the election drawing near, he is exposing his true nature by attacking the Black People's Party — the Black Panther Party.

By attacking the Black Panther Party and telling outrageous lies to the people while attempting to win black votes for Racist Dog Humpty Dump, Willie Brown has drawn the line of demarcation between black people and the enemy and sided with the enemy. As Chairman Mao Tse-Tung says, we take our attacks as a compliment. (Red Book, pg. 15).

"I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army, or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, but achieved a great deal in our work."

However, standing therefore as an enemy of black people within the confines of the racist Democratic Party, we in the name of black people demand that Assemblyman Willie Brown withdraw from the election and end his deservice to black people. If he does not withdraw from the arena, then the Black Panther Party is put in the position of having to guarantee that he will be unable to hold office.

Lt. Col. Kathleen Cleaver
Communications Secretary,
Black Panther Party
October 22, 1968

The Sister is a Real Panther

by Jay White
 Political Editor

Willie Brown says that the Black Panther Party is controlled by white people. Normally a charge of this type is too ridiculous to deserve an answer. However, since Kathleen Cleaver, the communications secretary of the Black Panther Party is running against Willie for the 18th Assembly District, perhaps we should set the record straight.

- (1) If the Black Panther Party is run by white people, who put Huey P. Newton in jail?
- (2) Why is Mickey Mouse Reagan raising so much hell about Eldridge Cleaver?
- (3) Who killed Bobby Hutton?
- (4) Who runs Willie Brown's democratic party?

The Black Panther party takes the position that the black people in the colony here in the United States are in a life and death struggle with the racists who control this system! Given this fact we would be nothing less than stupid to refuse help from anyone simply because of the color of their skins.

The Black Panther Party formed a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party based upon their acceptance of our leadership, and their support of the 10 point program of the Black Panther Party.

We understand that the racists are not giving, they intend to destroy the black people of this country or keep them enslaved. We intend to survive Babylon.

Therefore, we consider our alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party in the same light as our alliances with other freedom loving peoples around the world. We consider the Vietnamese people our allies. We consider the Cuban people our allies. We consider the Chinese people our allies. We consider the African freedom fighters our allies. ALL revolutionaries are our allies but we don't tell them how to run their revolutions and they don't tell us how to conduct ours!

If big mouth Willie Brown had been listening instead of talking, he would know that the Black Panther Party is run by a committee made up of such people as Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown and others. Now these people have been called a lot of things by a lot of people but no one ever called them white before.

We, the members of the Black Panther Party, serve notice to bootlicking Willie Brown that one more insult such as this and sister Kathleen will challenge him to a duel.

We have heretofore taken the position that Willie was a misguided brother who someday would come home. But maybe Willie Brown should check out what Eldridge Cleaver said to Mickey Mouse Reagan, namely: "Fuck you! You're a punk, a sissy, and a coward, and I challenge you to a duel."

Be careful Willie, if you get sister Kathleen Cleaver upset, she'll beat you to a pulp.

REMEMBER
THE WORDS OFBROTHER
MALCOLM

MILLIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE
MAKING YOUR DREAMS COME TRUE

Born May 19, 1925

MALCOLM TALKS TO YOUNG PEOPLE

(Editor's notes: The following is part of a speech given by Malcolm X on December 31, 1964, at New York's Hotel Theresa.)

One of the first things I think young people, especially nowadays, should learn is how to see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself. If you form the habit of going by what you hear others say about someone, or going by what others think about someone, instead of searching that thing out for yourself and seeing for yourself, you will be walking west when you think you're going east, and you will be walking east when you think you're going west. This generation, especially of our people, has a burden, more so than any other time in history. The most important thing we can learn to do today is think for ourselves.

It's good to keep wide-open ears and listen to what everybody else has to say, but when you come to make decisions, you have to weigh all of what you've heard on its own, and place it where it belongs, and come to a decision for yourself; you'll never regret it. But if you form the habit of taking what someone else says about a thing without checking it out for yourself, you'll find that other people will have you hating your friends and loving your enemies. This is one of the things that our people are beginning to learn today - that it is very important to think out a situation for yourself. If you don't do it, you'll always be maneuvered into a situation where you are never fighting your actual enemies, where you will find yourself fighting your own self.

I think our people in this country are the best examples of that. Many of us want to be nonviolent and we talk very loudly, you know, about being nonviolent. Here in Harlem, where there are probably more black people concentrated than any place in the world, some talk that nonviolent talk too. But we find that they aren't nonviolent with each other. You can go out to Harlem Hospital, where there are more black patients than any hospital in the world, and see them going in there all cut up and shot up and busted up where they got violent with each other.

My experience has been that in many instances where you find Negroes talking about nonviolence, they are not nonviolent with each other, and they're not loving with each other, or forgiving with each other. Usually when they say they're nonviolent, they mean they're nonviolent with somebody else. I think you understand what I mean. They are nonviolent with the enemy. A person can come to your home, and if he's white and wants to heap some kind of brutality on you, you're nonviolent; or he can come to take your father and put a rope around his neck and you're nonviolent. But if another Negro just stomps his foot, you'll rumble with him in a minute. Which shows you that there's an inconsistency there.

If the leaders of the nonviolent movement can go into the white community and teach nonviolence, good. I'd go along with that. But as long as I see them teaching nonviolence only in the black community, we can't go along with that. We believe in equality, and equality means that you have to put the same thing over here that you put over there. And if black people alone are going to be the ones who are nonviolent, then it's not fair. We throw ourselves off guard. In fact, we disarm ourselves and make ourselves defenseless. . . .

Around that time, 1939, or '40 or '41, they weren't drafting Negroes in the army or navy. A Negro couldn't join the navy in 1940 or '41. They wouldn't take a black man in the navy except to make him cook. He couldn't just go and join the navy, and I don't think he could just go and join the army. They weren't drafting him when the war first started. This is what they thought of you and me in those days. For one thing, they didn't trust us; they feared that if they put us in the army and trained us how to use rifles and other things, we might shoot at some targets that they hadn't picked out. And we would have. Any thinking man knows what target to shoot at. If a man has to have someone else choose his target, then he isn't thinking for himself - they're doing the thinking for him.

The Negro leaders in those days were the same type we have today. When the Negro leaders saw all the white fellows being drafted and taken into the army and dying on the battlefield, and no Negroes were dying because they weren't being drafted, the Negro leaders came up and said, "We've got to die too. We want to be drafted too, and we demand that you take us in there and let us die for our country too." That was what the Negro leaders did back in 1940, I remember. A. Philip Randolph was one of the leading Negroes in those days who said it, and he's one of the "Big Six" right now; and this is why he's one of the "Big Six".

So they started drafting Negro soldiers then, and started letting Negroes get into the navy. But not until Hitler and Tojo and foreign powers were strong enough to put pressure on this country, so that it had its back to the wall and needed us, (did) they let us work in the factories. Up until that time we couldn't work in the factories; I'm talking about the North as well as the South. And when they let us work in the factories, at first they let us in only as janitors. After a year or so passed by, they let us work on machines. We

became machinists, got a little more skill. If we got a little more skill, we made a little more money, which enabled us to live in a little better neighborhood. When we lived in a little better neighborhood, we went to a little better school, got a little better education and could come out and get a little better job. So the cycle was broken somewhat.

But the cycle was not broken out of some kind of sense of moral responsibility on the part of the government. No, the only time that cycle was broken even to a degree was when world pressure was brought to bear on the United States government. They didn't look at us as human beings - they just put us into their system and let us advance a little bit farther because it served their interests. They never let us advance a little bit farther because it served their interests. They never let us advance a little bit farther because they were interested in us as human beings. Any of you who have a knowledge of history, sociology, or political science, or the economic development of this country and its race relations - go back and do some research on it and you'll have to admit that this is true.

It was during the time that Hitler and Tojo made war with this country and put pressure on it (that) Negroes in this country advanced a little bit. At the end of the war with Germany and Japan, then Joe Stalin and Communist Russia were a threat. During that period we made a little more headway. Now the point that I'm making is this: Never at any time in the history of our people in this country have we made advances or progress in any way based upon the internal good will of this country only when this country was under pressure from forces above and beyond its control. The internal moral consciousness of this country is bankrupt. It hasn't existed since they first brought us over here and made slaves out of us. They make it appear they have our good interests at heart, but when you study it, every time, no matter how many steps they take us forward, it's like we're standing on what do you call that thing? - a treadmill. The treadmill is moving backwards faster than we're able to go forward in this direction. We're not even standing still - we're going backwards.

In studying the process of this so-called progress during the past twenty years, we of the Organization of Afro-American Unity realized that the only time the black man in this country is given any kind of recognition, or even listened to, is when America is afraid of outside pressure, or when she's afraid of her image abroad. So we saw that it was necessary to expand the problem and the struggle of the black man in this country until it went above and beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. . . .

I was fortunate enough to be able to take a tour of the African continent during the summer. I went to Egypt, then to Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zambia, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia and Algeria. I found, while I was traveling on the African continent, I had already detected it in May, that someone had very shrewdly planted the seed of division on this continent to make the Africans not show genuine concern with our problem, just as they plant seeds in your and my minds so that we won't show concern with the African problem. . . .

I also found that in many of these African countries the head of state is genuinely concerned with the problem of the black man in this country; but many of them thought if they opened their mouths and voiced their concern that they would be insulted by the American Negro leaders. Because one head of state in Asia voiced his support of the civil-rights struggle (in 1963) and a couple of the Big Six had the audacity to slap his face and say they weren't interested in that kind of help - which in my opinion is insane. So the African leaders only had to be convinced that if they took an open stand at the governmental level and showed interest in the problem of black people in this country, they wouldn't be rebuffed.

And today you'll find in the United Nations, and it's not an accident, that every time the Congo question or anything on the African continent is being debated, they couple it with what is going on, or what is happening to you and me, in Mississippi and Alabama and these other places. In my opinion, the greatest accomplishment that was made in the struggle of the black man in America in 1964 toward some kind of real progress was the successful linking together of our problem with the African problem, or making our problem a world problem. Because now, whenever anything happens to you in Mississippi, it's not just a case of somebody in Alabama getting indignant, or somebody in New York getting indignant. The same repercussions that you see all over the world when an imperialist or foreign power interferes in some section of Africa - you see repercussions, you see the embassies bombed and burned and overturned - nowadays, when something happens to black people in Mississippi, you'll see the same repercussions all over the world.

Contd. on page 8

ASSASSINATED FEBRUARY 21, 1965

The Pig, The Hog, and the Boar

Political Analysis by

ASHANTI AND MALAKA
(Sacramento Black Panther Party)

Pig Humphrey, Hog Nixon, and Boar Wallace are America's three racist presidential candidates for 1968 - the year of the pig.

THE PIG

Humpty Dumpty has been described by so-called liberals as "the lesser of three evils." (appropriate comment censored).

This pig along with the Hog and the Boar have the audacity to snort and oink about "law and order". This thin-lipped, bald-headed fagot has aided with superman Daly of the Chicago pig power structure which not only tortures, brutalizes and murders Black people, but tends to get funky with white radicals! And, now this hunk of pork is snorting and oinking about halting the bombing in Viet Nam in order to add negotiations with our brothers, the Vietnamese.

Actually, behind this game, is a dirty political move to make Lyndon Bitchin Baines look like a hero. Dig it? Booklickers such as Willie Brown and them slay ass Supremes are lapping up the filth and scum from his boots by supporting him. This pig in reality is doing nothing but sinking in his own mud bath!!

THE HOG

Hog Nixon, a well known racist in his own right, is squealing about "Black capitalism". Capitalism does nothing but exploit the masses. Tricky Dick simply wants a Black man to be the exploiter rather than a white man. Black revolutionaries will not be duped into this CAPITALISTIC BAG OF EXPLOITATION. Rather the means of production and distribution of goods should be placed into the hands of the people.

This should be all the garbage Black People have to stomach, but tricky old Dick has more. He wants to establish a national pig academy! This relates to Hitler's S.S. or Gestapo tactics. So, oink on to your burning pen of fire, hog, because we ain't gonna' for it.

THE BOAR

Next consider Boar Wallace, the second Nazi chief superman, of the Alabama gestapo forces -- slobbering, vicious, racist, fascist, venereal disease carrier who gave his wife syphilis from which that sickly B---- died. We all know where Wallace stands but many confused Black brothers and sisters are misleading our people into believing that Wallace will bring about Black unity.

But as our beautiful black sister Kathleen Cleaver so righteously pointed out, we do not need this type of unity because "it will only be unity in our graves!"

OFF THE PIG, THE HOG, AND THE BOAR

So, as we see it, the pig, the hog and the boar are one and the same. They all relate to each other by being representatives from this decadent, live-time, racist, fascist American society.

The solution? The masses can deal with these dogs by picking up the GUN and acting in a REVOLUTIONARY fashion.

BLACK S.F. PIGS FAKE UNITY

SAN FRANCISCO (Third-World Press) — An attempt by the black pig members of the racist San Francisco pig force to initiate an organization within its framework, has met with outright failure. The organization was to be composed solely of black officers, and known as the "Officers for Justice." But it was merely an attempt on the part of S.F.'s black pigs to improve their lagging image within the Black community, and a sinister effort to mislead Black people.

The black pigs had maintained that they were subjected to racism within the S.F.'s pig department, as well as their Pig Officer's Association. They further maintained that it was necessary to have their "own organization" to fight against racism.

But what the Black community was not to know is that the so-called "Officers for Justice" would only be capitalizing on the existence of racism (along with racist oppression of the Black community) in their selfish effort to bring pressure to bear on the city's pig hierarchy primarily for more promotions and salary increases.

The black S.F. pigs were attempting to give the pig department a better "image" within the black community, thereby ending "the demand for community control of the pig force." They wanted more Black pigs on the force, but not for pigs to be responsive to the Black community. These same black S.F. pigs sought to "integrate" top echelon positions of the department, though humbly serving the racist power structure which control S.F. pigs.

Reliable sources have stated that the black S.F. pigs attempted to assist the racist power structure carry out political deception within the Black community, while reaping a few high-level positions for themselves in the process.

The Black community should not be deceived by the pig's latest fake maneuver. Even though it may seem that racism exists within the S.F. pig department, it does not matter whether a pig be white and oppressive, or if he is black and oppressive — he is still a pig!

Black Panther Book Report

by Frank Jones

GHETTO '68
When wild cats sleep then I shall come
and with my claws I will destroy
their humble pads filled with their
trash of sins and toys.

Those pads which they all call
their nest,

look clean and pure as salots at
rest,
and you don't know that deep with-
in,

there grows a nest of dirt and sin,
GHETTO '68 is a collection of
controversial stories and poems
written by young Black writers of
Harlem, East Harlem, U.S.A., is a
community where the "good Ameri-

can life" does not exist. All are
affected by a staggering narcotics
problem, hardcore unemployment
and welfare, public schools that
produce illiterate graduates, unbel-
ievable living conditions in delap-
idated hovels with vermin and rats
preying upon children, streets in
which refuse and shit lay rotting
and stinking for months - Poverty,
hunger, disease everywhere. Pov-
erty begins where Park Avenue
ends, after Rolls Royces, diamonds
and mink take the place of life.
Were it not for cheap labor and
bloodsucking politicians East Har-
lem would be completely forgotten
and ignored.

It is no wonder that the not
infrequent themes of GHETTO '68
are despair, rebellion, and sad-
ness. There is a high incidence of
creativity in these mortifying sur-
roundings and the works appear-
ing in GHETTO '68 are repre-
sentative of this background. The
emotions and desires that are ex-
pressed in GHETTO '68 are not
unlike those of Black people
throughout the nation. Black people
can certainly relate to the feelings
of despair that are contained in
many of the stories and poems writ-
ten by the young people of East
Harlem. We know what Philip S.
Hicks means when he says, "It's
Time To Vomit!" and we can cer-
tainly understand Dale de Nard's
"Can't Take It."

GHETTO '68 was compiled from
works submitted to the Workshop
for Young Black Writers, the
youngest only fifteen. They come
from Harlem and from high schools
and colleges in the New York area.
The works of the young writers
were edited by Sol Bittle, and
Miguel Guzman added a portfolio
of drawings that lend themselves
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PEOPLE; GET IT TOGETHER

Get it together and get ready
for the weapons of genocide and
preparations being made for the
purpose of destroying you. You
ask for proof:

The newly created Intelligence
Unit, nicknamed the 'war room'
operation, in the justice depart-
ment of the nation's capital op-
erates two central computers that
store data of riots, individuals
and groups concerning the fight for
your liberation. The information
fed into these computers is pro-
vided by government spies who
come into your community as
police, community relation service
workers, mailmen and federal pro-
secutors.

A government research organi-
zation has recommended that the
national guard or government army
(similar to the Gestapo forces of
Nazi Germany) take over the ma-
jor share of riot control duties.
Their purpose: To annihilate you
by any means provided them.

Their weapons:

1. CHEMICAL MACE - an aer-
osol can that releases heavy tear
gas at a range of 8 to 20 feet
and does not require a direct
hit to incapacitate a person for
15 to 20 minutes or maybe perma-
nently.

2. FOAM - usually laid in 5
feet layers 200 feet wide in min-
utes to stop you from escaping
the fury of their arms.

3. BARBED TAPE - small box-
like device that releases eight
reels of barbed steel tape.

4. PAINT GUNS - a gas pow-
ered gun that paints dyes and

markers that show up only under
special light or can be detected
by police dogs.

5. DART AND INJECTOR WEA-
PONS - dart and hypodermic guns
now used to tranquilize animals,
soon humans.

6. CATTLE PRODS - same type
used against civil rights demon-
strators in the south.

7. TEFLON - laid on the streets
to make walking difficult.

8. LASER BEAMS, HEAT RAYS
AND BALL GUNS - to shock and
stun the person and could cause
permanent damage.

9. SUPER WATER PISTOL -
sprays a pepper solution.
Needless to add, other inventions
are being made and present wea-
pons being perfected.

Preparations are being made
by police with the cooperation
of hospital staffs and doctors to
deny admission of helpless riot
violence victims unless authorized
by police.

Not only federal but city govern-
ment are also arming themselves
and recommending that white citi-
zens (white of course) do the same.
Examples:

Chicago, Illinois - Sheriff Joseph
Woods of Cook county is recruit-
ing 1,000 civilian volunteers for
his riot control unit.

Dearborn, Michigan - The white
citizens have taken the advice
of their mayor and are receiving
instructions on self protection
at the city's recreation depart-
ment gun clinic.

Etc.
GET TOGETHER & GET READY!



Pigs Put Dogs on Anti-Wallace Black Demonstrators

BALTIMORE (Third-World Press) — Monday night, police turned trained dogs loose on a crowd of black hecklers at a Wallace rally. This gave the lie to the "restraint" of the Baltimore police in connection with the better publicized Cantonville Nine demonstrations.

One victim required 17 stitches to close dog bites.

Cops claim they heard the crowd was on its way to make trouble at Howard University — they were only protecting the black community. Tuesday, when a group of demonstrators started to march on police headquarters, to protest the incident, they were met by a cop who told them, "Instead of protesting, how would you like a demonstration of how our dogs work?" The group declined his offer.

Political Trial in Baltimore

BALTIMORE (Third-World Press) — The trial of the Cantonville Nine, who on May 17 burned Cantonville draft board files with homemade napalm, is underway here.

The defendants include Fr. Daniel Berrigan and Thomas Lewis, who are now serving six-year sentences on a 1967 conviction for a similar action.

The May 17 action occurred pending the sentencing of Fr. Berrigan, Lewis and two others on the orig-

inal protest in which three pint bottles of blood were poured on Baltimore draft records. The charge was mutilation of Selective Service Files.

Subscribe
to the
Black Panther

THE DIP'S TRIP

San Diego City Jail
October 9, 1968

We left Oakland Monday, the 7th of October at 11:30 P.M. to San Diego on Party business. On this trip were Captain Wade, Brother Jackson, Glen Stafford and myself. We were stopped by the Chip for speeding; the Pig said 11 miles over the limit. Usually, they won't stop you unless you are driving at least 10 miles over the limit, so I guess that's why Red Ryder said 11 miles. While they were giving us the ticket, they (the Pig) asked a lot of stupid questions about the car and gave it a rigorous safety check which we passed. Five to ten minutes later Captain Wade and I were talking and both being very careful, because Jackson and Stafford were asleep, when a car came out of no where and I had the wierd feeling and related it to Captain Wade that it looked like we were going to be delayed again. As soon as he had woke everyone the Red and White lights were in my eyes again so I pulled over to stop. Thinking that these were the same two cowboys, I asked what did they want to know? I'll Beaver said I was swerving across the white line, and I told him that he was lying and that I had witnesses to that fact. All this time Red Ryder was standing by the passenger side of the car, a flash light in one hand and a .357 Magnum in the other. I was at the Patrol car, and I'll Beaver came up to me and told me that I had been drinking, which I denied, then he turned and went back to our car and asked Captain Wade to hold up the paper bag that was in the car so that he could see what was in it. When he saw that the bag was empty, he got even redder in the face, and came to me again and said, "Ain't you drunk?" I again gave him the Panther smile, and said "Man, you are crazy!" He told me to stand at attention and hold my head back with my eyes closed, which I did, because someone was watching, and his pig pal commented that I was as steady as a rock. After realizing that we weren't going to be intimidated, they proceeded to check the car out again, with the same questions as the previous pigs, and then out of the sky Red Ryder said "Your license plate light is out", and with a piggish grin he wrote out a ticket for this violation. After this we were once again on our way to San Diego, and proceeded very carefully watched very closely by marked and unmarked pig cars. We arrived by 8:00 A.M. and got two hours sleep and reported to the Panther Office on Imperial. That evening Captain Wade had some private Party Business to do, so Glen and myself decided to go to T.J., to sell papers to the tourists. Coming back across the border we were as clean as an unwrapped bar of soap and the pig at the border stopped us with a sly grin on his face, and pulled us over to the side where the custom's office is. Brother Glen and I were immediately circled by Pigs and guns with itchy fingers, red necks, and stinking bottles, who took us inside the building and while Glen was ordered to stay outside in the waiting room under guard, I had to go into this little room and a pig said, "Make like a new born baby". When I entered the room the only thing there was a desk and a ball of paper on the floor. So when I finished undressing and was dressing the Pal Pig picked up the paper ball and began to unfold it. I said "I guess you'll say that this is mine" and the tall pig said yes, and the little pig said no, and "It was there when we entered the room getting a shirt from slim pig, I was then told to empty my pockets, my field jacket was 1st. As I was trying to empty my pockets Pals (pig) grabbed the jacket. He was holding a broken piece of a Beanie in his hand and said he took it out of my pocket, and at the time I still was handing him the jacket so he couldn't have got it out of my pocket. So I just gave another Panther laugh then I finally was led out of the room. Glenn was led in the same room they tried to do him the same way with the ball of paper but using Panther Power they were again outsmarted. But anyway, two pigs in civies took Glen away for some kind of made up charges but the lawyer said he is out now. Then about 4:00 A.M. two San Diego Pigs came and got me and told me I was under arrest for possession of a 1/2 a beanie and armed robbery, armed robbery because of the money we had made selling papers was in my glove compartment and they said I couldn't prove it up in the felon tank and just at the start of this waiting have just been transferred to the misdemeanor tank. The armed robbery had been dropped. I go to court in the morning at 9:00 A.M. and will try to get out on a O.R. and straighten this bullshit out and be ready for court tomorrow so when you read this I hope to be there looking over your shoulder.

Panther Power
The Dip

P.S. Don't let the pig get you down.



'Tis The Season

by Randy Williams

The primary objective of this article is to assist in establishing revolutionary political power for Black people as defined by Huey P. Newton in his essays. Political power is the ability of the people to carry out the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party deals with bringing real political power to Black people.

Pigs are daily violating our inalienable human rights. Pigs are daily committing every known criminal act against us, under the guise of law and order. They are so brazen as to dare us "to act in self defense." Huey says that the pigs fight in their way and we fight in ours. The pigs are opposing the will of the people. The Black Panther Party has as its sacred duty to carry out the will of the Black people. Black people demand an immediate end to police brutality and murder of our brothers the world over. The Party understands this political fact. The Black Panther Party knows what has to be done to end the pigs' insane genocidal plans. As political power blasts from the barrels of guns, the Black Panther Party realizes that it is necessary to pick up the gun in order that the lives of Black people may be preserved.

The people shall be forced to pick up the gun in self defense, and move positively against the racist pigs and their degenerate allies, the running dog toms and wipe them completely out. The Black Liberation Army must move to the next highest level in the expanding contest against racism and imperialism. Now the gun and marksmanship decides whether our race survives this contaminated country. The Black Panther Party is the vanguard. We are the living diamond tip that will make contact with the enemy of mankind and disembowel him. We view the rifle as only one of the weapons with which we shall preserve Black people.

The hunter must raise his skill up to the capability of his weapon. The military United States Arms Firing Manual states: "The value of sighting drills and aiming drills cannot be too strongly emphasized. By means of them the fundamental principles of shooting may be instilled before the soldier fires a shot." Sight alignment should be practiced every day until it becomes an automatic reflex. Sight alignment consists of lining up both the front and rear sights.

Typical sights are either open or peep. Open sights are found on all pistols and civilian rifles of the following calibers: 30.06's, 308's, 300's and 44 magnums. Peep sights are found on military rifles; for example, the 30-Caliber M-1 Garand, the British 303 (a very accurate long range rifle), the M-14.

Open Sights

1. Rear Sight
2. Rear and front sights
3. Sight alignment and sight picture which is having your target seemingly rests on top of your front sight alignment.

Peep Sights

- 1/ Rear Sight
2. Front Sight
3. Sight Alignment and
4. Sight picture

Every Black person should have a military rifle.

Power to the People
Black Power to Black People
Panther Power to the Vanguard

Education and Liberation

By Eugene Alexander

All over the nation Black students are openly protesting inequities and demanding at last that their voices now be heard. Universities, colleges, senior and junior high schools and even some elementary schools here in the United States are no longer immune to social protest and change.

Educational institutions embody and dispense goals, values, and ethical principles which underlie the foundation of this or that nation. It is understandable, therefore, that if any social change is to be meaningful and successful if it is to permeate throughout the nation and affect every household such a change must inevitably be reflected in the educational institutions.

Social change in schools, therefore, will always be met by strong resistance by those staunch conservatives who believe any change communistically inspired and as such detrimental to this nation. All informed Black people realize, however, that the lives of the mass of the Blacks will improve only through progressive and constructive change in our educational institutions. It is absolutely essential that we fully understand this. What is even more important, however, is for all of us to become more aware of what shortcomings do exist in the present educational structure as related to Black students.

We should know what and why demands are being made by Black groups such as the Black Students Unions. We should know what policies are being made by the Board of Education and how these policies affect the education and lives of Black students - our children. What were the circumstances surrounding the upheaval at Kennedy High recently? What were the implications - both racial and political - behind the Eldridge Cleaver U.C. regents fiasco? Certainly if we do not take an active interest in these important matters which affects our lives and those of our children what legitimate complaint have we?

The New Negro T.V. Stereotype

Released by
Third-World Press

Paul Krassner once had an article in *THE REALITY* about the death of actress Louise Beavers, who used to play the part of Beulah on the television series of the same name. Beulah was a fat, dumb but lovable, black woman who shuffled around the suburban home of a benevolent white family, frequently saying, "Yess, Mister Harry," to the head of the family she worked for.

Those were the days of "Amos and Andy," and the revolutionary movement was just beginning to grow. It seems a lot longer ago than it actually is.

Anyway, the *REALITY* piece talked about how Louise Beavers had been "used." She was a college graduate, a good actress, and not particularly fat. She had to learn to speak like the tooming Beulah character. They even made her gain weight for the part, a demand that was sadistically cruel and damaging to her health. When she died, the racist mass media managed to find only a short paragraph to say nothing about her. Krassner was careful not to put her down for the role she had played. It is not easy now for a black actor to get work. It was harder then.

The scene changes and television has to stop showing the "Amos and Andy" reruns and they will never produce another show with a character like Beulah. So for a couple of years they confined themselves to guest shots by Sammy Davis Jr. (I'm not talking now of "variety" shows, but of filmed series.) Then they tried Bill Cosby in "I Spy," as a faithful pig agent of U.S. Imperialism.

The death of Martin Luther King and all of a sudden television has a conscience. This year they have a whole crop of black actors and actresses in a variety of roles.

But the characters are all sterile. They have taken Sidney Poitier and adapted him for television. To watch Poitier movies you would think he never has a love life. And TV has taken the whiter than white Poitier thing and is creating a new stereotype.

Instead of "tooming Beulah," we have "bourgeois Julia." Diahann Carroll plays the part of a widow with a small child who lives in an "integrated luxury apartment." In the course of her plastic life she encounters various mild racial indignities and the program tries to make its point that prejudice is no good.

Example: Her kid is missing so she calls the pigs. Two racist hogs arrive and instead of talking to Diahann Carroll they begin talking to one of her lily-white friends who is visiting. Dig on - they thought Diahann Carroll was "the maid."

Example: In the same episode it turns out the kid isn't missing at all. He hid in the trunk of the telephone repairman. The repairman, a young black man, drives the kid home and says to him, "I could lose my job for this . . ." whereupon Diahann Carroll says, "That's a really swell of you risking your job to bring my kid home," and the repairman replies, "I don't care so much about the job. I'm studying engineering at night school. Education is important you know . . ." and Diahann Carroll says, "Yes. Especially 'for us'." Wow!

Then there is something called "Mod Squad." It is about three little pigs who are supposed to be young and too hip. One of them is black and wears his hair natural. It manages to touch all bases.

Example: "When will these kids learn to run to a pig instead of away from him?"

Example: "How does a high school kid get himself a gun?" sighs the white racist dog. "It's easy, Pete," says his black pig associate, "you just walk up to the counter and buy it . . . just like bubble gum."

Example: The pigs have just helped cause the death of a black high school kid who was mixed up in some stolen car ring. His girl friend is thinking about quitting school. So the black hip pig who has disguised himself as a teacher to pump information from her (which leads to the death of her boyfriend) comes on as follows: "It's a crazy world, but at least if you stay in school you have a chance to make it." She seems unconvinced so he looks heavenward and says "Some men see the world as it is and say 'why.' I see the world as it should be and say 'why not.'" Then he looks at the sister and says, "A great man and he died for it, too." (The pig Robert Kennedy dies in June and in October they have that racist hog immortalized on "Mod Squad.")

There are others with more of the same bullshit. The point is that there are more black women in the country who have to sell their labor to white racists to get by, like Beulah, than there are who live in white racist dog. "It's easy, Pete," says his black pig associate, "you just walk up to the counter and buy it . . . just like bubble gum."

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And a really good TV show would be one about a black maid and what she REALLY thinks and how she REALLY lives. But that won't happen until the media belong to the black people. And by then - there won't be any black maids!

By then - there won't be any "so-called negroes," only black sisters and brothers who related the gun to revolutionary politics and of the whitewashing of racist T.V.

APOLOGY TO CHAIRMAN MAO

THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper apologizes to Chairman Mao and The People's Republic of China for publishing a dated photograph in our last issue picturing the recently purged Lin Biao.

IN MEMORY OF BROTHER WELTON BUTCH ARMSTEAD

MURDERED BY THE
SEATTLE PIG DEPT.

MALCOMB TALKS TO YOUNG PEOPLE

From page 7

I wanted to point this out to you because it is important for you to know that when you're in Mississippi, you're not alone. As long as you think you're alone, then you take a stand as if you're a minority or as if you're outnumbered, and that kind of stand will never enable you to win a battle. You've got to know that you've got as much power on your side as the Ku Klux Klan has on its side. And when you know that you've got as much power on your side as the Klan has on its side, you'll talk the same kind of language with that Klan as the Klan is talking with you . . .

I think in 1965, whether you like it, or I like it, or they like it, or not, you will see that there is a generation of black people becoming mature to the point where they feel that they have no more business being asked to take a peaceful approach than anybody else takes, unless everybody's going to take a peaceful approach.

So we here in the Organization of Afro-American Unity are with the struggle in Mississippi one thousand per cent. We're with the efforts to register our people in Mississippi to vote one thousand per cent. But we do not go along with anybody telling us to help nonviolently. We think that if the government says that Negroes have a right to vote, and then some Negroes come out to vote, and some kind of Ku Klux Klan is going to put them in the river, and the government doesn't do anything about it, it's time for us to organize and band together and equip ourselves and qualify ourselves to protect ourselves. And once you can protect yourself, you don't have to worry about being hurt . . .

That doesn't mean we're against white people, but we sure are against the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils; and anything that looks like it's against us, we're against it. Excuse me for raising my voice, but this thing, you know, gets me upset. Imagine that - a country that's supposed to be a democracy, supposed to be for freedom and all of that kind of stuff when they want to draft you and put you in the army and send you to Saigon to fight for them - and then you've got to turn around and all night long discuss how you're going to just get a right to register and vote without being murdered. Why, that's the most hypocritical government since the world began. . .

I hope you don't think I'm trying to incite you. Just look here: Look at yourselves. Some of you are teen-agers, students. How do you think I feel - and I belong to a generation ahead of you - how do you think I feel to have to tell you, "We, my generation, sat around like a knot on a wall while the whole world was fighting for its human rights - and you've got to be born into a society where you still have the same fight." What did we do, who preceded you? I'll tell you what we did: Nothing. And don't you make the same mistake we made.

You get freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it. When you get that kind of attitude, they'll label you as a "crazy Negro," or they'll call you a crazy nigger - they don't say Negro. Or they'll call you an extremist or a subversive, or seditious, or a red or a radical. But when you stay radical long enough, and get enough people to be like you, you'll get your freedom. . . .

So don't you run around here trying to make friends with somebody who's depriving you of your rights. They're not your friends, no, they're your enemies. Treat them like that and fight them, and you'll get your freedom; and after you get your freedom, your enemy will respect you. And we'll respect you. And I say that with no hate, I don't have hate in me, I have no hate at all. I don't have any hate. I've got some sense. I'm not going to let somebody who hates me tell me to love him. I'm not that way out. And you, young as you are, and because you start thinking, you're not going to do it either. The only time you're going to get in that bag is if somebody puts you there. Somebody else, who doesn't have your welfare at heart . . .

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Che Guevara on Vietnam

cont'd from page 3

their conclusion, colonialism gives way, without violence, to a neo-colonialism, the consequences of which are the same so far as economic domination is concerned.

The United States formerly did not have colonies in this region and now it is struggling to penetrate the preserves of its partners.

It can be said that Africa constitutes, in the strategic plans of North American imperialism, a long-range reserve; its current investments are of importance only in the Union of South Africa and it is beginning to penetrate into the Congo, Nigeria and other countries, where sharp competition is flaring up (of a "peaceful" nature up to now) with other imperialist powers. It does not yet have big interests to defend except its pretended right to intervene any place on the globe where its monopolies are making good profits or where big reserves of raw materials are to be found.

All the above leads up to posing the possibilities for the peoples to win their freedom in the immediate or near future.



EXECUTIVE MANDATE NO. 1:

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Delivered May 2, 1967, at Sacramento, California
State Capitol Building

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY calls upon the American people in general and the Black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the Black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of Black people.

At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war of genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps* in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for non-white people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confining of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynchings of thousands of Black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror, and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The BLACK PANTHER PARTY believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

(*See "Concentration Camps U.S.A." by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and "American Concentration Camps" by Boswell.)



Political Move: Huey Newton

By BOBBY SEALE
(Chairman BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Concerning our brother, Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, it is very necessary to understand that when Huey P. Newton told brothers and sisters on Nation-wide television to cool it, his statement was directly related to the type of verdict that came down. The type of verdict that came down was simply a compromise verdict on the part of the jury who had probably been politically pressured from either the left (the Black left), the Black Panther Party, and to the right (the racist pig department.)

This racist compromise verdict was, in fact, nothing but an action to try and satisfy the Black Panther Party by the power structure; saying in effect, we realize now that we cannot kill Huey P. Newton. And, at the same time, trying to satisfy the pigs on the other hand by saying that Huey P. Newton was guilty "of something." This is directly related politically to the Black peoples' problem, and we understand how it is even intertangled and interconnected to the black liberation struggle as a whole.

It was stated and expounded upon that if the racist white power structure tried to kill; that is, if they came up with a guilty verdict of first degree murder against Huey P. Newton, then . . . the sky would be the limit!

At this point we should not mix this up with the compromise type of verdict. Because, some 30 minutes after the verdict was passed, it was evaluated by the Black Panther Party; Huey P. Newton, together with the rest of the Panther leadership, that other means could be exhausted to see that Huey P. Newton's feet are placed on the ground.

With the compromise verdict by the jury, the place of the Black Panther Party (concerning brother Huey P. Newton's life) was in a very delicate position.

Huey P. Newton said: let's continue to exhaust the legal means." Because, one simple, basic thing is that Huey P. Newton can never be tried again for first-degree murder; that is, where they could possibly say that he is supposed to go to the gas chamber. Huey P. Newton can never be tried for second-degree murder, where he would possibly receive twenty years to life imprisonment.

If we can get a mistrial; that is, going through the process of exhausting these political means (and it looks like we have good grounds for a mistrial), Huey P. Newton can only be tried again on manslaughter charges (as most: two-to-fifteen years imprisonment).

One of the key factors in exhausting political means is always to see whether or not we can use one level of power; which is, possibly voting power at this particular time, against another level of power — never giving up our guns. And we will use the guns strategically and in a very organized manner. So this particular statement I am making now is to grossly inform everyone around the nation; those of you who stood for "Free Huey," etc., that it is necessary that we work hard on the political campaign to vote in Huey P. Newton.

The 29,300 signatures that (in six days) were acquired by many people who supported Huey P. Newton; many black brothers and sisters, even many hippies, leftist white people, and Peace and Freedom Party people around this country — especially in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area — were very valuable. But now, to place Huey P. Newton in office as U.S. congressman with many, many thousands of votes is very important. It is important in terms of letting the political power structure know where it is at; that is, with the masses of the young people and many of those who are under twenty-one that do not vote. Those young masses stand on the many principles, and stand with the Black Panther Party, because they have solid faith in the Panthers. In fact, the solidarity of youth and the Panthers manifests itself.

But we also must have faith in the masses of the people. And the young people are only one part of the people. The other part of the people are many registered voters who can come forth and show their support at this point.

We, the young people, must mobilize ourselves to work around this political campaign — the campaign to elect Huey P. Newton and other Black Panther Party candidates (mainly, our candidates in the local area).

Those in the other areas should work hard for our Presidential candidate, Eldridge Cleaver. There is not much time left. Within local areas, we have to show this support and get the people to understand the real truth about the Black Panther Party campaign and program so that the people can support and understand where the young revolutionary of the day are moving.

Young revolutionaries are not moving in what many "Uncle Toms" and many lying politicians have called an irresponsible direction. We are moving in a very responsible way at this time. We are responsible to all the Black people in the black communities. We are responsible to all the people around the world. We are responsible to all human beings — their rights and needs.

cont'd on page 15

BRAIN POWER

by
Frank B. Jones

America is now in the throes of revolution. Black people are demanding changes in the political-economic structure of American society. Changes that will facilitate a more equitable distribution of the wealth of America. Our demands are the results of an increase in ethnic awareness and the realization that we, as Black people, have been covertly disfranchised from our rights. We will no longer accept a position that grants us less than the dignity and respect that our humanity requires.

To oppose the past systematic oppression of Black people, we have instituted several revolutionary courses of action. We now have Black oriented cultural nationalism, political parties, religious nationalism, paramilitary organizations, etc. All of these activities are directed towards the same goal — Black liberation. The rallying cry of the Black Liberation movement is "Black Power", a phrase that is used to express our desire for and our determination to achieve self-determination.

Black power is not enough. A new cry must be added if we are to gain lasting results from our revolution. This new cry must be for brain power. We must liberate the power that rests within our mentality if we are to remain free of oppression. Without knowledge we will be unable to distinguish between opportunity and oppression. Our present status in America is the result of enslavement of the mind more than it is a result of enslavement of the body. The dehumanization of Black people was a mental or psychological process, and we must now reverse the operation and assert ourselves mentally as well as physically.

Brain power is needed to give direction to our physical activities. The militants among us all praise the works of Fanon, Debray, Mao Tse Tung, Che Guevara, etc., but little mention is made of the mental perception required to produce the philosophical principles of revolution. Brain power is needed in military operations to compute the trajectory of mortar shells, to locate the most damaging position for placing explosives on a bridge to be destroyed, to handle the electronic equipment used for coordinating communications, to properly handle ammunition, etc.

Brain power is needed in time of peace to build bridges, to perform surgery, to fill prescriptions, to design communication and transportation systems, to program computers, etc. It would be wasted effort to gain full equality if there is no one capable of filling the positions that will be made available by a revolution. If we must fight to gain equality, we want to have people who are capable of using that equality for the benefit of those who had to fight. We must unite our brains and brawn.

It is incumbent upon all of us to prepare ourselves physically to fight, and mentally to reap the benefits of our fight. We have seen the frustration of being prepared and having no opportunity, e.g., the Black man with a college degree performing mental labor. Let us not reverse the situation by gaining the opportunity and not being prepared. We should continue to pursue Black power, but we must realize that without brain power, Black power is only skin deep.

Late News Briefs . . .

GREEK POET DYING

ATHENS — Yannis Ritsos, Greece's foremost poet, is dying in one of the many concentration camps set up by the racist U.S.-supported ruling military junta. The junta, in an effort to silence the silver tongue of the revolution, is not permitting him to receive the medical aid he needs. Ritsos, 57 years old, has already spent 20 years of his life behind bars because of his revolutionary political views.

GRAND INJUSTICE FROM THIRD-WORLD PRESS

The San Francisco grand jury has proven again that it is impossible for black people to receive justice in the court system in this country. After hearing from at least 10 eye-witnesses, the racists decided to indict the pig O'Brien, not for MURDER, but for "manslaughter". Here is a case where the combined testimony of 10, TEN! Black people were not considered equal to that of one pig!

The Black community of San Francisco must be forewarned by this event. Now that the indictment has been returned, the pig cannot be tried for murder, only for the lesser charge. A charge that a jury of racist devils will have no difficulty in finding "not true".

The pig, O'Brien, will be returned to the streets to murder and brutalize more black people. This is the shape of things to come.

Meanwhile, Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, BPP, is in prison for up to 15 years for supposedly defending himself against a pig — just like O'Brien!

Black people stop and ask yourselves what would they have done to Brother Baskett if he had shot that pig instead of being viciously slain. You know the answer.

The trial of Huey P. Newton showed us what is happening in this decadent country. The time has come when Black people must defend THEMSELVES. The pigs won't help us. The courts won't help us. And the imperialist government won't help us.

We must help ourselves. Put shotguns in your home. Load them with "Double O" buckshots. Be prepared to deal with the racist, bigoted, dogs that patrol the black community. Be prepared to hold "Black courts in the streets" — where true justice can be dealt!

SAGA ATTACKS LIBERATIONISTS

BROOKLYN, (N.Y.) — Saga magazine's current issue contains a full-length article on "the shocking truth about America's rampaging 'Red Guard' and the bloody guerilla wars tearing our colleges, universities and ghetto streets."

Most of the article is an hysterical attack on liberation movements.

The author, Henry L. Kurtz, liberally sprinkling his piece with words like "agitator," "militant" and "bloody," apparently got most of his hard facts from recent articles on Black Panthers and white radical groups in Times, Newsweek, and Look.

Saga's caption writer with the purple prose award, however, "Social carnivores" is the phrase chosen to describe H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael. Under another photo, which shows students shouting and flashing the "V" for the defeat — not the victory — of the decadent American system, Eldridge Cleaver speeches are on their "Bill of Revolutionary Rights," and counter-revolutionary are subject to vicious persecution.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN GETS BOMBED

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — A dynamite bomb blasted open the Institute of Science and Technology Building on the University of Michigan campus on October 15. It was the latest in a series of 13 bombings to hit the Detroit area in recent months, and followed by two weeks the destruction of a semi-secret CIA recruiting office in downtown Ann Arbor.

So far the bombings have struck three draft boards, two private cars parked in Detroit police precinct parking lots, an army car parked next to the Army recruiting headquarters, the private car of a Vietnam veteran parked outside his home, a school administration building, and other targets apparently unrelated to the continuing political sabotage which began in August. In addition, three rural Michigan draft boards were rocked by explosions earlier in the summer.

The explosion at the Institute was described by police officials as being "larger and more powerful" than any of the previous bombings. The force of the blast shattered all twelve windows on one side of the building; although the explosion tore off a heavy metal door and hurled a piece of it 80 feet down a corridor and through another wooden door. It did little to actually disrupt the classified military research being conducted in the seven-story north campus building.

STUDENT STRIKE: NOVEMBER 4 & 5

BOULDER, Colo. — The National Council of Students for a Democratic Society called for a student strike in high schools and colleges on November 4 and 5 to protest the "hoax" of U.S. elections.

The National Council also called for regional demonstrations to be held in large cities.

REBELLION IN QUEBEC

MONTREAL — Students are in revolt throughout Quebec province.

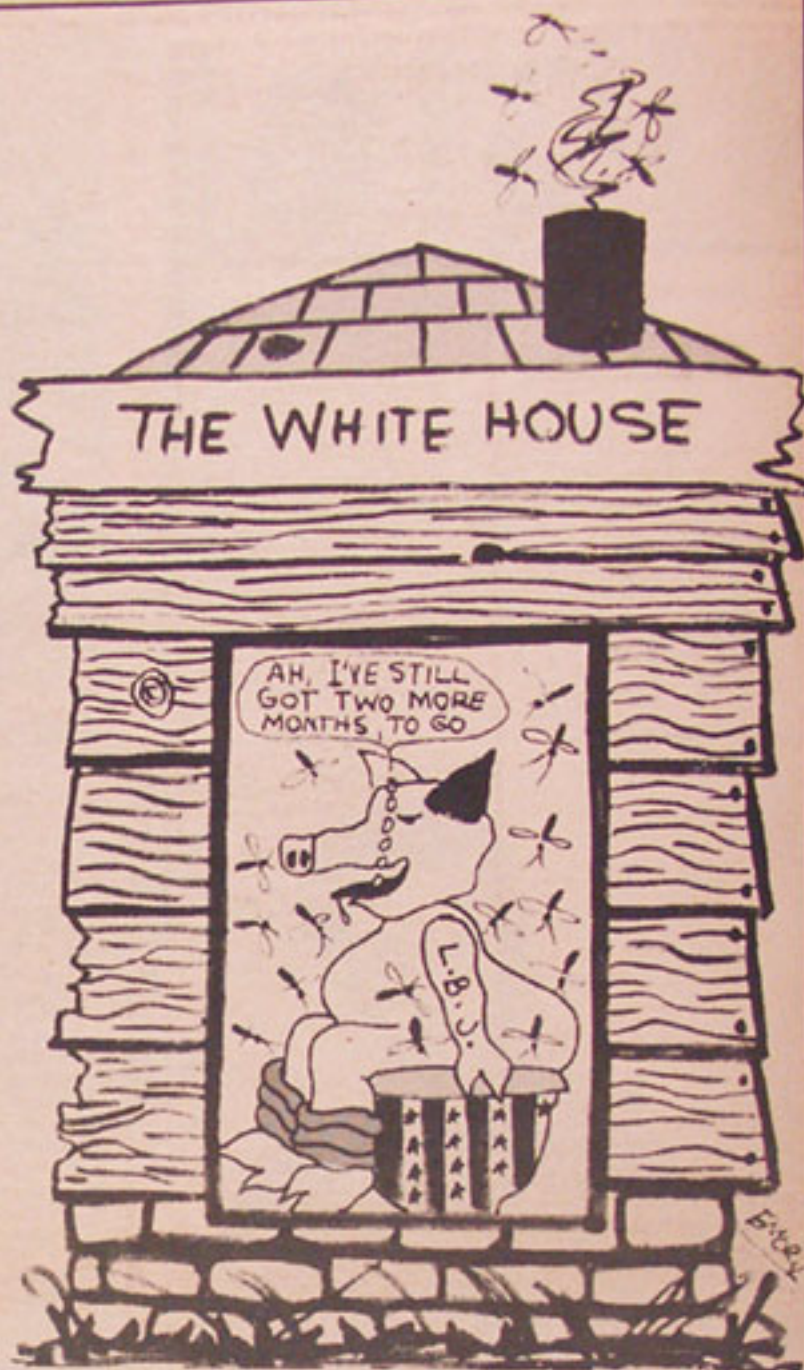
They have occupied 13 public junior colleges and private colleges for the past week.

Eight departments at the University of Montreal are in the hands of students; 18 other faculties have been closed by a strike as their students participate in independent study sessions. Eight junior colleges have been

shut down by striking students, who have set up their own study sessions.

McGill University, St. George's University, and Loyola College have held sympathy demonstrations.

Students at 13 other junior colleges returned to classes after threats from the Minister of Education, but demonstrations are being held on at least three of those campuses.



BUFFALO NINE

BUFFALO, N.Y. — Nine anti-war protesters face court action after federal agents, marshalls and police invaded a church and arrested them.

The arrests came after two Black draft resisters, Bruce Boyer and Bruce Cline, took sanctuary

in the Unitarian - Universalist Church to make public their stand against being drafted for the war in Vietnam and against the increasing repression by Federal troops of black people.

Among the arrested individuals are three Vietnam war veterans.

The police used chains and blackjacks against the crowd surrounding the resisters. Bail was set at \$10,000. The Buffalo Nine Defense Committee characterized the bail as "so excessive as to constitute obvious repression and intimidation."

Black Panther Party
Central Headquarters

ASSOCIATED STUDENTS OF
CONTRA COSTA COLLEGE
October 18, 1968

Dear Sirs:

The Associated Students of Contra Costa College have passed the following resolution.

WHEREAS Ronald Reagan because of his racist, simplistic, and conservative attitudes has chosen to use his political influence to remove an instructor for his political beliefs, defying the very existence of academic freedom, and setting the precedent on which other instructors throughout the state are now being dismissed, and

WHEREAS this instructor, Eldridge Cleaver, is of national fame being the Managing Editor of Ramparts Magazine, author of SOUL ON ICE, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party and being unusually well qualified because of his background and experience to teach such a course, (Dehumanization and Regeneration in the American Social Order), has offered his services without pay,

WHEREAS this course is an experimental student initiated course. The governor's actions repudiating the idea of students having a hand in starting their own courses.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Associated Students of Contra Costa College demand that Eldridge Cleaver be allowed to give his full 10 lectures, and do condemn and deplore the actions of Ronald Reagan, and further more, do support the students of the Berkeley campus in their commitment to resist such actions designed to destroy the concept of education by having Eldridge Cleaver give his full 10 lectures, and do call upon the Faculty Senate to uphold their responsibility as educators by joining the students in such resistance.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of said resolution be forwarded to the Black Panther Party, Central Office, Emeryville/Associated Students University of California, Berkeley.

Contra Costa College Associated Students
San Pablo, California

The Political Role

Another problem that we must counter is a lack of political power for Black communities. The Black Panther Party again offers the most effective countermeasure. The political orientation of the Black Panther Party is a program to establish political self-determination for Black People. If it is to succeed, however, the program must be supported by the Black community.

Many of us have complained about the Panthers' coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party, but we have offered no suitable alternative. Our efforts can and should now be directed towards making the coalition work. We certainly don't agree with the policies of the Democratic Party, but for years we used to give the Democratic Party Black support. Should we do less for our own Black brothers?

Those of us who don't have money to donate can contribute a little time. Even if you don't want to be indirectly associated with white radical coalition groups, you can still help the Panthers by working exclusively on the Black Panther Party campaign, the Black Panther Newspaper, assisting with functions at the Panther offices, or by volunteering your special skills. But don't let your Black Freedom fighters down.

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER

Political Prisoner:
Minister of Defense
HUEY NEWTON
(CAMP - Vacaville Prison)

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Editor
Minister of Information
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Deputy Minister of Information
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CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Minister of Defense
HUEY P. NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Chief of Staff
DAVID HILLARD

Field Marshals
UNDERGROUND

Minister of Education
GEORGE MURRAY

Minister of Finance
MELVIN NEWTON

*Minister of Justice
H. RAP BROWN

Prime Minister
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Communications Secretary
KATHLEEN CLEAVER

Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

WANTED DEAD FOR MURDER



S.F. PIG MICHAEL O'BRIEN
4785 - 18th. STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

BLACK BOOKS



PHONE: (415) 658-0236

5800 GROVE ST. OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

— FREE PARKING WHILE SHOPPING —

DETROIT BEGS FOR BLACK PIGS

DETROIT (Third-World-Press) -- Despite a \$15,000 grant from the Justice Department and a lot of fancy publicity featuring Bill Cosby, the comedian, a plan to recruit blacks in the police forces of Michigan has failed.

Apparently, the feelings were mutual. On the one hand, there were only 1,700 requests for information, 375 actual applications, and only "several dozen" hired. On the other hand, "there was less than real enthusiasm from law enforcement officials throughout the state," according to Edward N. Hodges III, the man who ran the recruitment project. It looks like the pigs don't dig the blacks, and not too many blacks want to be pigs.

Grape Boycott Grows

BERKELEY, CAL. (Third-World-Press) -- There are no California table grapes being served in the dining halls of the University of California, but University authorities refuse to say they are supporting the boycott. As a result of student agitation and a sit-in led by members of the Mexican-American Students Confederation, the university has been subject to great pressure on the issue. There were 11 arrests, and there is the possibility of a student strike. The Chicano students have pressed additional demands, including a request for scholarships to children of agricultural workers, for an increase from 4% to 10% of the rate of "special admissions" for disadvantaged students, and for the creation of a Mexican-American student center.

GEORGE MURRAY KEEPS POSITION AT S.F. STATE COLLEGE

Black Panther Minister of Education George Murray will be able to keep his position as part-time English instructor at San Francisco State College despite a demand by the board of trustees that he be fired because of his revolutionary political views.

It was probably the fear of a violent student protest, similar to the one in support of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party, at Berkeley which caused the college's president, Robert Smith, to announce at a campus press conference that he would not take any action against Panther Minister George Murray.

Murray was one of the leaders of the Black Panther Party who recently visited Fidel Castro in Cuba.

VICTIM OF PIG BRUTALITY?

IF YOU HAVE BEEN A VICTIM OF
(OR WITNESS AN INCIDENT OF)
VICIOUS PIG BRUTALITY

Fill out the form below, telling us the details, and send it to:

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

Incident _____

If more details, attach a separate sheet. Please include a badge number, license plate number, etc., if they are available.

NEEDED: TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT

MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON SAYS:
"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN
THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN'S!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES IN THE
REVOLUTION — WE NEED ALL TYPES OF

TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:

FOR DEFENSE
FOR FINANCING
FOR OFFICE WORK
FOR TRANSPORTATION
FOR HEALTH AND FIRST AID

INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

**MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

PIG POWER STRUCTURE

from page 13

An important point that has to be made is that we are dealing with community imperialism, a process whereby certain interests within the white community, using white racism, to manipulate the white masses, exploiting the Black community. They have turned the Black community into a market just as other colonies that are separated by the Mother country by land or water are turned into markets by the exploitive interests in the Mother country. The Black community has been subjected to this precise type of exploitation and suppression and containment. They also have amongst them an indigenous class or layer, a coal layer, a scam layer of parasites who make a coalition with the leeches in the white community and they help to suppress oppress and express their own people. We refer to these as the function of the Black bourgeoisie, the active agents of the pigs of the white power structure, the white pigs of the power structure. These are the Black pigs of the power structure, the Black flunkies, the Black lackeys for the pigs of the power structure who function within the Black community. In the white community we identify the enemy as the avaricious businessmen, the demagogic politicians, and the racist pig cops, by which we mean all of the various police apparatus, the intelligence operations, the cloak and dagger biz, all those surreptitious pigs who are dealing with the problem of continuing to suppress the people. In the Black community we have professionals who act as contact men in the Black community, who act as vectors, as pipelines for the pig partyline to be run down the people of the colony. We have doctors, lawyers, school teachers, welfare dispensers, those who staff the decentralized neo-freedman bureau becomes in all these guises loosely related to the war on poverty. All of them carry one of these new names, operation bootstrap, Operation Upstart, Operation Nitzy - Gritty Quick 'Baby - all that shit injected into it Black capitalism, this is the new program for Black people to incorporate Black people into this decadent system - not so much to incorporate them but to deceive them by creating less money within Black people like a carriage before a donkey, drama of get rich quick schemes, by salting the community with certain amounts of sucker money, chiefly through the willing hands and subterfuge and conspiracy enacted by the bootlickers of Core, other bootlickers and lackeys like Donald Warden, Willie Brown, John George, Elijah Turner. These are chiefly local bootlickers in the Bay Area, but they have their counterparts in every state around the country and they are functioning and they are putting Black people into a bag hopefully as far as the power structure is concerned.

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK)

YEAH BOSS, dis here PANTHER IS HEADED DOWN...
And da, what 'bout dat extra pork
Chop you promised me???

IF DEM PIGS KEEP
MESSIN WIT ME
I'M GONNA BLOW
EM AWAY—
I GOT TA KEEP
HELPIN MA PEOPLE...



Medilaba



ON BROOKLYN BRIDGE. Approximately 20,000 people supporting community control of schools participated in demonstration.

20,000 in N.Y. March for Black Control

NEW YORK - The press completely covered up a march of 20,000 held here last week for community control of the schools. This march, coming after weeks of community organization among parents, teachers and students, was one of the largest demonstrations of strength in the history of the black struggle in New York City, and it reflects the rapidly growing grass roots movement for black and Puerto Rican control of their schools which has developed during the teachers' strike.

After a mass rally at City Hall, the thousands of demonstrators marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to the Board of Education Building in Brooklyn. Few pigs were in evidence as the marchers surged over the traffic area of the bridge, waving signs at the cars, blocking traffic, and shouting slogans including "The Schools Belong to the People," "Down With Shanker, Up With McCoy," and "Hey, Hey, Black Power, We Want School, Say N. Louder."

As the demonstrators reached the rise in the bridge, people let out shouts of joy as they saw the

thousands coming before and after them.

The New York Times later described the demonstration on an inside page as "5,000 marchers, predominantly white." Anyone standing on that bridge could see it was at least 20,000 - the majority black. All ages were represented, with many children and high-school students, as well as thousands of parents.

Close to half the schools in New York are now open as a result of action on the part of parent groups, many of whom have had to fight against school principals and pigs to gain entrance into their schools.

A new development this week was the organization of the high-school students who opened a number of schools. In some areas this has been led by the High School Coalition, a black, citywide group.

N.Y. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST DISMISSAL OF MILITANT BLACK TEACHER

NEW YORK (Third-World Press) -- More than 100 students of New

York University demonstrated against the unjustifiable dismissal of a revolutionary-styled Black teacher by the reactionary president of the university.

At a recent meeting, this brave Black teacher denounced racist Democratic presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey and fascist Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon as vicious dogs. His blatant exposure struck fear into the hearts of the university's reactionary ruling circles. James Hester, the school's president, publicly announced last week the dismissal of the revolutionary-styled teacher.

This action aroused indignation among the students of the University. They held a mass protest demonstration and took over two academic buildings.

Scared by the students' struggle, James Hester hurriedly called in large numbers of well-armed pigs in an attempt to brutally suppress the students. The countless students set up barricades in the buildings and forced Hester to accept part of their demands, including reinstatement for the militant Black teacher.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all capilans subordinate to either national, state and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend upon decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rules or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY were violated.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE FOLLOWING RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be drunk while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, and general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will point or fire a weapon unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone other than the enemy.
6. No party member can join any other army or force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while drunk or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other members of BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people; not even a needle and a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER PARTY members will give only name and address and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member, including all other material of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

CORRECTING MISTAKEN IDEAS

BY CAPT. CRUTCH

There are numerous adverse ideas within the Black Panther Party. In the Black Liberation Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct ideology. But unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Black Liberation Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it Black Americans great revolutionary struggle. The source of such incorrect ideas is that the party is composed largely of ghetto street niggers, together with elements of petty bourgeois niggers. The leaders of the party, however, fail to wage a concerted and determined struggle against these incorrect ideas, to educate (and re-educate) the members in the party's correct ideology - which is also an important cause of their existence and growth. Therefore, I shall attempt to help point out some of the manifestations of various incorrect ideology within the party. And I call upon all party members to help eliminate mistaken ideas and incorrect methods thoroughly.

1. The purely military viewpoint is highly developed among quite a few members.

a. Some party members regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks.

b. They don't understand that the Black Panther Party is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of revolution. We should not confine ourselves merely to fighting. But we must also shoulder important tasks as doing propaganda among the people, organizing the people, arming the people, and helping them to establish revolutionary political power for Black people. Without these objectives fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its existence.

c. At the same time in propaganda work they overlook the importance of propaganda teams. They also neglect the organizing of the masses. Therefore, both propaganda and organizational work are abandoned.

d. They become conceited when a battle is won and dispirited when a battle is lost.

e. Selfish departmentalism - they think only of the Black Panther Party and do not realize that it is an important task of the Black Liberation Army to arm the local masses. This is cliquism in a magnified form.

f. Unable to see beyond their limited environment within the Black Panther Party. Such statements as 'as San Francisco Panthers,' 'as New York Panthers,' and etc. They have to realize Panthers are all one and the same. Also, a few Panthers believe that no other revolutionary forces exist. Hence their extreme addiction to the idea of conserving strength and avoiding action. This is a remnant of opportunism.

g. Some Panthers disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity they will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses. They do not want to distribute leaflets, sell newspapers, etc. These things seem small although they are very important. Yet they are riddled with illusions, and want only to do big things. This is a remnant of putschism.

The sources of the purely military viewpoint are

1. A low political level.
2. The mentality of mercenaries.
3. Over confidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people. This arises from the preceding three.

The methods of correction are as follows.

1. Raise the political level in the party by means of education. At the same time, eliminate the remnants of opportunism and putschism, and break-down selfish departmentalism.
2. Intensify the political training of officers and men. Select workers and people experienced in struggle to join the party; thus, organizationally weakening or even eradicating the purely military viewpoint.
3. The party must actively attend to and discuss military work.
4. Draw up party rules and regulations which clearly define its tasks, the relationship between its military and its political apparatus, and the relationship between the party and the masses of the people.

POLITICAL MOVE: HUEY

cont from page 9

Now that we understand this, hopefully then, what we should do is to go forth and have Huey P. Newton voted in as U.S. congressman. About two, three, or four hours work from every person willing to do campaign work can place Huey P. Newton in on the ballot. By placing him in on the ballot, the pressure will come from both ends: from the youth, from the many members of the older generation who might, possibly, for the first time in their life, get educated about the revolution of the youth today. This applies to both black and white communities, as it does to the student communities. So let's understand that as the Huey P. Newton congressional campaign goes in, it becomes deeply involved in politics. It is going to take our energy and our support, our organization and hard work campaigning door to door between now and November 5th to really put righteous pressure on the power structure. And to put so much pressure on the power structure that they will realize that it is necessary for them to give Huey P. Newton a mistrial because they had to recognize also that they could not kill Huey P. Newton.

So the thing goes forth. We are going to higher courts -- the same higher courts we intend to have a mistrial declared in within the next couple of months. And, we must still appeal for Huey P. Newton's bail money.

The two latter parts I mentioned are the main reasons why the Minister of Defense has said to exhaust all political means in order to see what can be done. Because "the sky is the limit," must mean many, many things, and it must be understood by many to mean many things.

All power to the people. Black power to Black people. Panther power to the Vanguard.



Socialist Workers HQ in L.A. Bombed by Anti-Castro Cubans

"ATTACK WILL NOT INTIMIDATE US" DECLARE FRED HALSTEAD AND PAUL BOUTELLE, SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

NEW YORK -- The headquarters of the Southern California Socialist Workers Campaign Committee located at 1702 East Fourth Street in Los Angeles was bombed at 9 p.m., Thursday, October 16.

In a joint statement issued today by Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, they condemned the terrorist bombing of the campaign headquarters. They blamed "the violence-breeding policies of the government and the Democratic and Republican parties" for creating "a climate where right-wing groups and individuals are encouraged to carry on their own 'anti-communist' campaigns." (Full text of statement enclosed.)

In the headquarters there was extensive damage to the stairway and a store, a window and door were knocked out in the Socialist Workers headquarters, and an office was damaged.

The bombing was the latest in a series of bomb attacks by anti-Castro Cubans in the Los Angeles area. One of their red, white and blue stickers with the inscription "Cuban power" was found above the wreckage in front of the building.

Last May 10 a bomb was found and defused during a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum which is in the same building as the campaign committee.

The attack coincided with the arrival in Los Angeles of Carol Lipman, national field secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and editor of the Young Socialist magazine, who is on a national speaking tour.

STATEMENT BY FRED HALSTEAD AND PAUL BOUTELLE

Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, issued the following statement here today on the bombing of their campaign headquarters in Los Angeles:

We condemn the terrorist bombing of our headquarters in Los Angeles. It was a deed motivated by the violence-breeding policies of the government and the Democratic and Republican parties. The war of aggression Washington is waging in Vietnam and the bipartisan campaign against Cuba create a climate where right-wing groups and individuals are encouraged to carry on their own 'anticommunist' campaigns.

The terrorist goons were imitating the terrible violence unleashed by Washington against Vietnam, and such things as the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

The anti-Castro hoodlums responsible for the bombing know they are given covert support from the CIA and Washington, and feel they can get away with such terrorist acts, but they won't succeed. We are confident that all of our supporters across the country will react to this bombing by redoubling their efforts to build the antiwar and black liberation movements, and the movement to abolish the capitalist system that causes such violence.

The terrorists also hope to discourage our defense of the Cuban Revolution, but here too they have failed. We will intensify our campaign in support of Cuba.

YOUNG WEST BERLINERS HURL EGGS, TOMATOES AT U.S. WARMONGERS

WEST BERLIN (Third-World Press) -- More than 100 young West Berliners hurled eggs and tomatoes at visiting U. S. Defense Secretary Clark Clifford in protest against U. S. aggression in Viet Nam.

Warmonger Clifford went to West Berlin from West Germany. When he arrived, from the airport, at the West Berlin City Hall, the demonstrators waiting there booed and whistled him and his party and threw eggs, tomatoes, stink bombs and tins of paint at them. The demonstrating youth shouted at him "murdered! murdered! murdered!" They also unfurled a huge flag of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to show their solidarity with the Vietnamese people's struggle against U. S. aggression and for National salvation.

Blackman's FREE STORE MEDICAL CLINIC

The Black Man's Free Store Medical Clinic opened October 16, 1968, at an empty store at 689 McAllister Street in San Francisco's Fillmore District.

Staffed by volunteer professional workers it is a joint enterprise of the Black Man's Free Store workers and members of the Bay Area medical community, all freely donating their time and services. While it primarily serves the needs of indigent members of the community, it is also open to anyone for whom other facilities may be unavailable.

Its inspiration and motivation is based in part on a recognition that efforts to eliminate poverty and disease through the pumping of vast sums of money into the ghetto areas is, for various reasons, often unsuccessful in coping with clearly evident problems of disease and is often less successful in attempts to solve the deeper problems of the sickness of men's souls.

The Clinic is also motivated in part by the premise that a successful patient-physician relationship can provide an important resource for the establishment and maintenance of vital areas of communication between individuals many of whom suffer from the destructive consequences of a centuries old heritage of rejection.

Black Child's Pledge

I pledge allegiance to my Black People.

I pledge to develop my mind and body to the greatest extent possible

I will learn all that I can in order to give my best to my People in their struggle for liberation.

I will keep myself physically fit, building a strong body free from drugs and other substances which weaken me and make me less capable of protecting myself, my family and my Black brothers and sisters.

I will unselfishly share my knowledge and understanding with them in order to bring about change more quickly.

I will discipline myself to direct my energies thoughtfully and constructively rather than wasting them in idle hatred.

I will train myself never to hurt or allow others to harm my Black brothers and sisters for I recognize that we need every Black man, woman, and child to be physically, mentally and psychologically strong. These principles I pledge to practice daily and to teach them to others in order to unite my People.

Shirley Williams
(Richmond Black Belt)

The Power of the People

The Black Panther Party (or any Black liberation force) cannot be successful without the complete support of the people. All power comes from the people. But we often hear that a certain segment of the general population has all of the power because it has the largest concentration of money or weapons. This is not true. Without people, both money and weapons are useless. Weapons are a source of power only if they are subject to the will of the people. If a group of 10 men had the only atomic bomb in existence, their power would still be limited by their number. They could not force the rest of the world to pay tribute to them simply because ownership of a destructive weapon does not make man invincible. Man is always susceptible to defeat.

The people of the world would not submit to a group of 10 men. People would fake submission; then destroy the 10 men at the first opportunity.

The example of 10 men possessing an atomic bomb is pure conjecture, although the same situation could be reduced to one man holding a pistol on 10 men. The man with the gun only has the power to destroy, but not the power to control. The 10 unarmed men could overpower the one man and take his weapon. Some of the unarmed men might die in the attempt, but death for a few is often the price of liberty for all.

Money too requires people for power. If people would refuse to accept the money of a country as payment for goods and services, that country would have to depend on the labor of its people as its only source of wealth and power. Such a situation can be compared to traveling around America with a checkbook but no cash. If no one accepts your check, all of the money that you might have in your bank account would be useless.

The people are the ultimate source of power. Let's unite and give more power to the Black Panthers, so that the Panthers will liberate all the power for "the people."

NEEDED: BLACK PANTHERS

by
FRANK B. JONES

THE DEFENSIVE ROLE

The Black communities have been mistakenly told not to expect full equality overnight since it takes time to change century old customs and ideas. This excuse is totally unacceptable, and we are not forced to live with it. But since such brainwashing exists, we may as well be realistic about it and move decisively more revolutionary.

We must find countermeasures for all things now unendurable. The Black Panther Party was formed primarily as a political force to counter police brutality. And its efforts are continuing to be successful. Yet the Black Panther Party could be even more successful if the black community would rally completely behind it.

We know that we cannot expect massive changes overnight. Nor do we expect police brutality to be eliminated overnight. The Black Panther Party, however, is at present the most effective countermeasure against the racist pigs, and the Black community should give the Panthers its wholehearted support. Let these brave, revolutionary brothers know that their efforts are not going unnoticed -- that the Black Community is thankful for the Panthers to help.

Black Revolutionary Poetry

REVOLUTIONARY LITTERATURE

there are those who can tell you
how to make molotov cocktails,
flamethrowers,
bombs whatever
you might be needing
find them and learn, define
your aim clearly, choose your
ammo
with that in mind

It is not a good idea to tote a gun
or knife
unless you are proficient in its use
all swords are two-edged, can be
used against you
by anyone who can get'em away
from you

It is
possible even on the east coast
to find an isolated place for target
practice
success
will depend mostly on your state
of mind:
meditate, pray, make love, be pre-
pared
at any time, to die

but don't get uptight: the guns
will not win this one, they are
an incidental part of the action
which we better damn well be
good at,
what will win
is mantras, the substance we give
each other,
the energy we plug into
(the fact that we touch
share food)
the buddha nature
of everyone, friend and foe, like a
million earthworms
tunneling under this structure
till it falls

chance di prima

MILITANT

Let all who will
Eat quietly the bread of shame,
I cannot,
Without complaint: food and long,
Lacking its bitterness in my throat,
And feeling to my very soul
It's wrong.
For honest work
You prefer me poor (oh),
For honest dreams
Your spit is in my face,
And so my fist is clenched
Today —
To strike your face.

L. Hughes

Tom Willie Tom Brown Tom

There once was a bootlicker
His name was Willie Brown
He never served the people
Just gave them the run-around

He said he was a Democrat
Just like L.B.J.
He spent his waking hours
Pleading black folks to betray

One day he attacked the Panther
On orders from his boss
When they finally rescued him
Poor "tom" was a total loss

So hear this ALL you bootlickers
There's something you need to know
You better start looking for true
black folks
Or your ass has got to go!

— Jay White

NOW

Black people what is our destination?
Immediate pig extermination.

I ask you, do you know where we stand?
Under a suppressor's racist hand.

Open your eyes - you must - and see
What these filthy dogs are doing - to you and me

We won't stand for any more of their genocidal acts
of robbery, suppression and murder of Blacks

You must wake up brothers
It's up against the wall
This power structure has got to fall!

The shit has really gotten funky
I mean the piggish tricks of L.B.J.
A racist horkie

We'll off anybody that stands in our way
That means all you poor Negroes who have gone astray.

And to the pigs: Our final resolution
Will be your wilful execution.

OKETT

I'M BLACK AND I'M PROUD

If we must die, let it not be like bags,
Hung and panned in an inconspicuous spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock of our accursed lot.
If we must die let us die nobly,
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!
What though before lies the open grave,
Like men we'll face the murderous cowardly pack
Press'd to the wall, dying YEAH - but - FIGHTING BACK!!!

STILL FLOWING

But still Blackness flows . . . I
even by the way of the clear pen made by
alabaster hands.

Yes, even the great white father can't
prevent the flow of black writings.

Black will flow,
Black unafraid, though unwanted,
Flows, flows on through life, time and
eternity;

Persisting through, through the neglected
East Harlem streets of black silk bodies sin-
ful to some (those black souls filled only with
fun).

Black silk bodies denying the presence of
whiteness now, tomorrow, and hereafter.

Denying, Diminishing, and Demolishing . . .
for whiteness it's all over now.
Now he is still - nothing.

Philip S. Hicks

HANGED

Look at them laughing,
don't they even care?
No, I don't think so.
They are smiling and joking
as we sit and weep,
They point and say, "Look,
Niggers, look hard, for
the same thing will happen to
you."

I stare quietly for I know,
what is to become of them.
There will be a time
when we will be masters
and not slaves.
They may hang
from the very same tree . . .

And when the time comes,
we will not hang you but it
is you who will hang yourselves.
Nellie Holloway

HAPPINESS IS A WARM MUSEUM

Happiness is . . .
Being dragged away from a lunch counter after being served
Seeing a pair of BLACK hands under a KKK sheet
Finding out the address of your sham landlord
Being called a bag woman by Adam Clayton Powell
Ordering a black and white soda in a Montgomery, Ala. drugstore
Demonstrating in a town that has no police dogs
Seeing the burning cross destroying the cross crosses on the lawn
Having the white liberal leave you alone at the party
Seeing there's more of you than them in a race riot
Telling George that you're sorry LBJ died

a panther, named poet

had I never
seen youthful
joy die in the breast of
a new warrior, a warrior
whose wit is his best
weapons, who may never see
his sons even throw a ball
before his life and his
blood trip-les from
wounds he knew would
have to come, had
I never known your
strength and your love
for our people,
brother, I would
have lifted you
on my shoulders for every
body to see, anyway, cause
black leather never
looked better.

charles k. mervland jr

DEATH

There is no needle without piercing point,
There is no razor without trenchant blade,
Death comes to us in many forms.

With our feet we walk the goat's earth,
With our hands we touch God's sky.
Some future day in the heat of noon,
I shall be carried shoulder high
through the village of the dead.
When I die, don't bury me under forest trees,
I fear their thorns.
When I die, don't bury me under forest trees,
I fear the dripping water.
Bury me under the great shade trees in the market,
I want to hear the drums beating
I want to feel the dancers' feet.

Kofi

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 654-2003, and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

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Black Panther Party BOOK LIST

MALCOLM X
FANON, FRANTZ
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DAVIDSON, BASIL
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The Autobiography of Malcolm X
Wretched of the Earth
I Speak of Freedom
The Lost Cities of Africa
The Nat Turner Slave Revolt

Aptheker, Herbert

American Negro Slave Revolts
A Documentary History of the Negro People in the U.S.

Bennett, Lerone Jr.
Dontemps, Arna W.

Before the Mayflower
American Negro Poetry--Story of the Negro

Cronin, E.D.

Black Moses (The story of Garvey and the UNIA)

Dalleis, W.E.B.

Black Reconstruction in America--Souls of Black Folk

Davidson, Basil

The World and Africa
Black Mother, the Years of the African Slave Trade

Fanon, Frantz

Studies in a Dying Colonialism
From Slavery to Freedom--Negro in the United States

Franklin, John Hope

Black Bourgeoisie
The Other America

Fraser, C.F.

Garvey & Garveyism--The Philosophy & Opinions of Garveyism

Harrington, Michael

The Myth of the Negro Past
A History of Negro Revolts

Garvey, Marcus

MUNTU: The New African Culture
Blues People

Herskovits, Melville J.

Black Muslims in America
Malcolm X Speaks

James, C.L.R.

The Colonizer and the Colonized
Ghana

Jabenz, John

We Charge Genocide
Africa's Gift to America

Jones, LeRoi

World's Great Men of Color: 3,000 B.C. to 1946 A.D.

Lincoln, C.E.

The Negro in Our History

Malcolm X

The Strange Career of Jim Crow
Native Son

Mwami, Albert

Nkrumah, Kwame

Patterson, William L.

Rogers, J.A.

Wesley, Charles H. &

Woodson, Carter G.

Woodward, C. Van

Wright, Richard

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Andrews AFB, Wash, D.C.
18 Oct 1968

Brother Raymond Lewis:

I'm writing you this letter from Washington, D.C. I have just finished reading the Sept 14, 1968 edition of "THE BLACK PANTHER". And I am most definitely highly elated at the BLACK writings and BLACK views expressed by my BLACK Brothers and Sisters.

At present I am a captive of the very racist, Imperialist governmental organization that, you (we), the BLACK PANTHER PARTY is struggling to overcome and to free fellow BLACK Brothers and Sisters as myself.

Before I go any further I want it to be known by all who may read this letter that I am a BLACK MAN FIRST -- a service man LAST. And as a BLACK man . . . I will not fight or kill other people of color in the world who, like BLACK people are being victimized by the white racist government of America . . . (Black Panther, 9/14/68).

I was born and raised right there in Oakland. I graduated from Tech in '66, a year ahead of my BLACK and beautiful Sister Joan Lewis. I know the situation that exists in the world aside from that which takes place there.

I am writing this letter for many varied reasons, but mainly to ask questions. Pertaining to the article: STATEMENT TO REACTIONARY TOM. My question is, how in the name of the BLACK VANGUARD does the Party allow a person such as Albert Burton to go on living? When his existence is a threat to the very thing that YOU, the Party, stands for. Talk about a TOM. This man is it in its greatest sense.

The role of the whites, the Hippies, and others of undefinable character is still a mystery to me. I would like to have this issue explained to me. Set me straight on the facts. At the present I am a bit confused. My feelings of hatred, contempt, and distrust, are directed towards the white racist - the capitalist - the Imperialist. I feel as though they are the ones responsible for the oppression, to put it mildly, of the BLACK people. Hatred, violence, and disgust are not a habitation of nature. They are taught. And this was accomplished by these older white generations. I could go on talking about this facet of life but I am writing for education, not to educate.

My final question is, what must I do to get myself, and a few other BLACKS, set up on a subscription basis for the BLACK PANTHER?

Enclosed you will find a few pieces of BLACK Literature. It originated here on the East coast. It comes from the BLACKS on this side. I hope you can use it.



My regard to THE VANGUARD

Herbert B. Bradford
(Editor's Note: For the reader's information, Albert Burton is, as Brother Herbert stated, a "Book-Licking Negro." The policy of the Black Panther Party, however, is not to eliminate "Toms" per se, but to destroy the roots of "Tomism" within our Black communities -- educating Black Brothers and Sisters to relate to the politics of the gun).

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ELDRIDGE CLEAVER



FOR PRESIDENT

BLACK PANTHER CANDIDATE ON THE
PEACE AND FREEDOM TICKET

HUEY NEWTON FOR US CONGRESSMAN



**7TH CONGRESSIONAL
DISTRICT
ALAMEDA COUNTY**

**BLACK PANTHER CANDIDATE ON THE
PEACE AND FREEDOM TICKET**

BOBBY SEALE FOR STATE ASSEMBLYMAN



17TH ASSEMBLY DIST ALAMEDA COUNTY

**BLACK PANTHER CANDIDATE ON THE
PEACE AND FREEDOM TICKET**

1968: BALLOT OR THE BULLET



KATHLEEN CLEAVER

COMMUNICATION SECT.,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

18th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT
S.F. PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY

SHOOT YOUR SHOT



OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM



WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE

The program is usually divided into one section of ten points entitled "What We Want" and then ten paragraphs explaining these points in a section entitled "What We Believe." For the sake of clarity, we have put each one of the ten points in "What We Want" immediately above its corresponding paragraph in "What We Believe."

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



FREE HUEY NOW GUNS BABY GUNS

1,000,000 Signatures for Eldridge

DO YOUR THING . . .

HAVE THIS PETITION SIGNED BY 25
PEOPLE AND MAIL IMMEDIATELY TO:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
P.O. BOX 8641, EMERYVILLE BRANCH
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO KEEP
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER OUT OF PRISON

PETITION NO. _____



PETITION: KEEP ELDRIDGE CLEAVER OUT OF PRISON

"EVERYONE IS INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY"

ONLY THE PEOPLE IN MASS CAN DESTROY RACISM IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA. So we the undersigned who are citizens of America and
peoples around the world, DEMAND, that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of
Information of the Black Panther Party; Candidate for President of the
United States of America on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket; author
of the book, SOUL ON ICE; and managing editor for Ramparts Magazine,
we say and demand that he, Eldridge Cleaver, should not be sent back to
prison after being released from prison by Judge Sherwin of Solano County
in California. Released because the Judge stated that Eldridge then was
being held as a "political prisoner." ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is now out of
prison on legal bail. We the undersigned say that the California Gover-
nor with his "Adult Authority," the courts of California and the federal
courts of the U.S.A. had better recognize that everyone is innocent un-
til proven guilty with the right to bail before trial, that this is
every human beings right by the United States Constitution, including
Eldridge Cleaver.

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